His Great Speech at Belleville, Ill .- The Issues of the Campaign Clearly Presented -An Unsuswerable Argument for a Change in the Administration of Nation-

The largest political meeting held in St. Clair Coupey, Ill., for twenty years, took place at the Belleville Fair Grounds on the 30th ult. Ex-Get. Koerner presided. Among the speckers were Hon. Lyman Trumbull, candidate for Governor; Gen. Lewis B. Parsons, candidate for Lieutenant-Governor; Hon. Lawrence Harman, candidate for Attorney-General; Hon. Thomas Butterworth, Gen. John C. Black, Col. William R. Morrison and others. The following is a synopsis of the masterly address delivered by Senator Trumbull. After thanking the audience for the warm greeting extended to him, and alluding in grateful terms to the many manifestations of confidence he had received from the people of St. Clair County during his long residence among them, Mr. Trumbull said:

A POLITICAL RETROSPECT. Before proceeding to discuss the questions which now divide parties, it may be useful to inquire whether there is any thing in the present attitude of parties which requires a Republican of 1856 or 1860 to support that party now. This question will best be answered by inquiring what the distinctive characteristics of the Republican party of that partied was of the Republican party of that period were, and comparing them with its present attitude. The Republicans of 1856 declared in their National Platform that they were "opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise;... . . to the extension of slavery into free Ter-ritories; in favor of admitting Kansas as a free State; of restoring the action of the Federal Government to the principles of Wash ington and Jefferson, and that a railroad to the Pacific Ocean, by the most central and practicable route, is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country." The National Republican Convention in 1850, which nominated Mr. Lincoln for the Presidency, adopted substantially the platform of 1856, to-gether with these two resolutions: "Fourth—That the maintenance inviolate of

the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Ter-ritory, no matter under what pretext, as among the groundst of crimus.

the gravest of crimes." Sixth-That the people justiy view with alarm the reckless extravagance which per-vades every department of the Federal Government; that a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest the systematic plunder of the public Treasury by favored partisans, while the recent startling developments of fraud and corruption at the Federal metropolis show that an entire change of administration is imperatively de-

So important did Mr. Lincoln regard the fourth resolution, asserting the rights of the States, that he incorporated it in his Inaugural Address. These resolutions of the Republican party of 1856 and 1860 distinctly announce the principles upon which it attained power. For the ascendancy of those principles i struggled, and for all that remain unsettled I am strug-gling to-day. But

HOW MANY OF THEM ARE NOW LIVING ISSUES. And of those which remain, how many does the Republican party of to-day represent? The effect of the Missouri Compromise, which prohibited slavery north of 36 degrees and 30 minutes north latitude, and the question of extending slavery into free Territories are settled forever by the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which declares that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction." Kansas was admitted into the Union nineteen years ago as a free State, and the Pacific Railroad was completed and has been in convention for many years which ends all ient to the principles of Washington and Jef ferson, the establishment of the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions, according to its own judgment exclusively, the return to rigid economy and accountability as indispensable to arrest the systematic plunder of the public Treasury by favored partisans, and a change of adminis-tration to correct the recent startling developments of frauds and corruptions at the Federal metropois." For which of these measures is the Republican party of to-day the advocate? Not one. Its most trusted leaders denounce the effort to restore the Federal Government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson and to maintain the right of each State to order and control its domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, as little less than treason. The reckless extravagance of the Federal Government, while controlled by the Republican party of late years, greatly ex-celled that of 1869, which it denounced, and in its frauds and corruptions, notably before the party was restrained by a Democratic House of Representatives, it far exceeded any thing ever before known in the history of the Government ever before known in the history of the Gov-ernment. I need not go into particulars to make good these assertions. The average ordinary annual expenses under Mr. Buchan-an's Administration, denounced by the Republicans of 1800 as "reckless extravagance," were \$65,291,452.40. The average ordinary annual expenses under the first six years of Grant's Administration, while the Republicans had control of all branches of the Government, were \$170,302,325.15, or nearly three times what they were under Bacingary. In times what they were under Euchanan. In the meantime the population of the United States had not increased 25 per cent. Surely the ratio of increase in the ordinary expenses the ratio of increase in the ordinary expenses of the Government ought not to exceed the ratio of increase in population. Twenty-five per cent, added to the "reckless extravagance" of Buchanan's Administration would make but \$81,614,315.50, or 285,385,010.65 less than was annually expended by the Republicans when in fell control from 1820 to 1875. The when in full control from 1839 to 1875. The Republican party of the last ten years has

HOSTILE TO THE MEN WHO FOUNDED IT than to the principles on which it achieved success. Seward, Chase, Weiles, Blair, Gree-ley, Sammer, Adams, Phimer, and a host of others, among whom I might claim to have acted an humble part, the men under whose auspices the Republican party chiefly won its fame, ceased to act with it when the war was over, slavery abolished and the party departed from the only vital issues remaining of those on which it came into power. At no period of our history have reckless extravacance and the systematic plander of the pubgance and the systematic planter of the pub-iic Treasury by favored partisans been so flagrant as during the last term of Gen. Grant's Administration. It was during that period that Robeson, Williams, Creswell, De-lano and Belknap were members of the Cabi-net, that the Whisky Rings, the Indian Rings and the Custom-house Rings most did there. and the Custom-house Rings most did flour-ish; that Indian Agencies were sold; that the traudulent claims of Secor and Chorpenning were allowed; and such was the waste and mismanagement in the Navy Department that Admival Porter testified on oath before a committee of the House of Representatives in 1876, that "our Navy, taken as a whole, is worth nothing, and the sooner the country understands that fact the better." This was after R beson had been Secretary of the Navy for nearly eight years and had used more than \$100,000,000 of the public money. But why dwell upon this sickening record? The world knows it by heart, and every honest man not blinded by party zeal must blash at its recital. The departure of modern Repub-licans in their reckless extravagance and corruptions, in the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of the States of Louisiana and South Carolina, in forcing illegal Legisla-tures upon them, and in the lawless invasion by armed force of other States, under the pretext of preserving the peace at the polls, are, in the language of the Republican platform of 1860, among the "gravest of crimes." Having shown that the Republican party has repudi-ated its founders and proved recreant to every lying principle on which it was organized, there is no reason of consistency or otherwise why a Republican of fifteen or twenty years ago should longer support it. Its claims to ago should longer support it. Its claims to support, by reason of the suppression of the rebellion and the abolition of slavery, in which the party in its earlier history took so conspicuous a part, is likewise false, because, as I have already shown, the Republican par-ty under whose auspices those great deeds were accomplished was controlled by differ-out men and greatened by different trees and greatened by different men and governed by different principles from what it is at present.

Nor is it true that to the Republican party exclusively, even of that period, is due either

THE SUPPRESSION OF THE REBELLION
or the destruction of slavery. The statement
of a few mathematical facts will demonstrate
this to every candid mind. The popular vote
of Mr. Lincoln for President in 1860 was 1,863.
THE GREAT FRAUD OF 1876.

THE GREAT FRAUD OF 1876.

THE GREAT FRAUD OF 1876.

I next call your attention to the President in 1860 was all she election was 2,810,501. While Mr. Lincoln election of 1876, when the people, by a false
of flaving a majority of the popular vote of
the Nation. It would be well for the advocates of the absolute supremacy of the Nation
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representation of each State in both branches elected in each State in such manner as its Legislature may prescribe, and not as Congress may dietate. Official docu-ments show that the whole number of volunteers enlisted during the war was 2,678,967. Does any sensible man suppose that the 1,866,352 persons who voted for Mr. Lincoln furnished 2,678,967 volunteers, or that coin furnished 2,678,967 volunteers, or that his supporters alone could or did suppress a rebellion entered into, as Republicans pretend, by 2,810,561, who voted against him? Illinois in 1800 cast 172,161 votes for Lincoin Electors and 167,552 for Electors of Presidential candidates opposed to him. Lincoin's majority over Douglas in the State was only 11,946, and over all only 5,621, and yet Illinois sent 250,147 troops into the field. Do not these figures demonstrate beyond all Do not these figures demonstrate beyond all question that the Democrats as well as Republicans united in the suppression of the rebellion? What think you, my countrymen, of a party which to maintain itself in power can thus belie history, and, like the unworthy son of a noble ancestry, seek to cover up its cor-ruptions and crimes by the halo which surrounds those from whom it claims descent? But I have not done with this faise ciaim of the Republican party. I propose to-day to bury it so deep by facts and figures that only the dupes of demagogues can longer be gulled by it. The Democracie State of Missouri alone, in which Mr. Lincoln received but 17,028 votes in 1860, furnished 100,111 men to the Union Army-a greater number than was furnished by all the Republican States of Vermont, Rnode Island, Minnesota, Nebraska and Kan-sas put together. Neither Michigan, Wiscon-sin or Iowa turnished as mnny troops to the Union Army as Missouri.
DESPERATE SCHEMES TO RETAIN CONTROL OF

THE GOVERNMENT. During the war the National Government necessarily exercised extraordinary powers for the suppression of the rebelion; powers which in peaceful times properly belong to the States, and thus the party naving control of the National Government gradually accustomed itself to assume more and more authority, till in 1868, in order to remove the ob-stacle to its exercise of supreme control, its stalwart leaders undertook to impeach and States for alleged political offences. Fortun-States for alleged political offences. Fortun-they will hold him responsible. The facts as I have stated in regard to Flor-dened partisans, to usurp the executive au-dened partisans, to usurp the executive au-ida and Louisiana are all substantiated by otremove from office the President of the United dened partisans, to usure the executive au-thority of the Nation was defeated. Had it succeeded, the next step would have been to impeach and remove from office such Judges of the supreme Court as stood in the way of its exercise of supreme authority, and our Government would at once have been con-verted into a central despotism controlled by the partisan leaders of the party in power. Since then the party has sought, by various devices, to perpetuate is supremacy, and has thus far succeeded against the declared will of the people. If this charge is true and can be made good, no man of any party who be-lieves in a government by the people can longer sustain it. Why should a freeman of any party go to the polls if effect is not given to his vote? Is not an election a mockery when the party in power has adopted a ma-chinery for conducting it and counting the votes by which it can perpetuate its supre-macy regardless of how the votes are cast? What has the Republican party done unfairly to perpetuate its control? Until 1870 it was never attempted by any party having control of the National Government to interfere with the conduct of elections by the people of the respective States. It was then that the Republican party, distrusting the capacity of the people to tairly conduct their elections, undertook by an act of Congress to provide for their supervision and control by Federal officials. This was done under pretense of regulating the mode of electing Representatives to Congress, but as they are elected at the same time as Electors of President and Vice-President and State officers in nearly all the States, these Federal officials in fact supervise nearly all the State elections. So far as they interfere with the election of Electors of President and Vice-President their acts are clearly unconstitutional, for that instrument in terms provides that Electors of President and Vice-President shall be appoint-ed in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct. Any interference in the manner of their appointment by act of Congress or Federal officials must therefore be without operation for many years, which ends all those questions. The only things left to be accomplished by the Republican party, as proclaimed in the days of its purity, are "the restoring of the action of the Federal Government to the principles of Weshington and Institute of the process of the section of the Federal Government to the principles of Weshington and Institute of the process of the section of the Federal Government of the process of the section of the Federal Government of the process of the section of which the Republican Congress enacted? provides that the Judge of the United States Circuit Court, on being applied to prior to any election at which a Representative in Con-gress is to be elected, shall appoint two citigress is to be elected, shall appoint two citizens of different political parties for each election precinct in the district, who are to be present at the registration of voters, to scrutinize the same, and cause such names to be registered as they may deem proper. They are also required to be present at the election to challenge any voter whose legal qualifications they may doubt, and personally to scrutinize and counted to the first two members of the Louisiana Returning Board, except one, whose relative received an appointment, with their clerks, many of their relatives and others connected with the Louisiana iniquity, have been appointed to office steam were both subsequently appointed to office by him. Of the "visiting statesmen" sent by each ballot east in their respective precincts. This provision of the statute, if the National Government is to interfere at all, is apparent-Government is to interfere at all, is apparently fair, as the Supervisors are to be taken from different political parties. But what shall be said of the other provisions of the act of Congress which authorize the United States Marshal, an appointee of the President and usually a violent partisan, to appoint as many Deputies as he pleases, all of his own political faith, in every city in his district of twenty thousand inhabitants or upward, with power to preserve order at the places of registration to preserve order at the places of registration and at the polls, to prevent fraudulent regis-tration, fraudulent voting or fraudulent conduet on the part of any election officer, and to arrest, with or without process, any person who commits or attempts or offers to commit any act prohibited by the laws of the United States? These Deputy Marshals, vested with this extraordinary power to be exercised at their discretion, are to serve ten days and be paid 35 a day for their services, readily see how such a power as this used to control elections in the hands of an

> number and character of some of the Deputy
> Marshals appointed in 1878 to supervise the
> elections in New York City and Philadelphia, as will declare their candidates elected withmany of them being notorions thugs and con-victs. In New York, some thirteen hundred of these officials were appointed; in Philadelof these officials were appointed, in I made-phia there were seven hundred and seventy-three—all Republican partizans, and appoint-ed and controlled for the sole purpose of fur-thering Republican interests, but paid five dollars per day each out of the Federal Treas-ury. In New York City, under the infamous Commissioner John I. Davenport, just prior to the decider of 1876 twenty-six jun-Commissioner John I. Davenport, Just prior to the election of 1876, twenty-six hundred mataralized voters were summarily arrested under the pretence that their naturalization papers were lilegal, because the Clerks of the Couris by whom they were granted had not, in his opinion, made a proper record of them. Just prior to the election of 1878, this process was repeated by Davenport, and some three thousand more were arrested. and some three thousand more were arrested and their naturalization papers taken away from them by this man Davenport, who had no more right to overrule the Courts and declare the naturalization papers they issued fraudulent than had one of you. But few of the persons arrested on the charge of having fraudulent papers were ever brought to trial, and all who were were discharged, their na-turalization papers being held valid, the courts deciding that all the records required had been made by the Clerks, and if it had not it was no fault of the citizen who had become naturalized and that he could not be deprived of his rights by reason of the failure of a clerk to do his duty. Davenport, how-ever, accomplished his object, and by his arbitrary and ille cal acts prevented and deterred thousands of lawful voters from easting their

unscruptions party, how these Deputy Marshals employed at Government expense may

Call you an election conducted under such auspices free, fair or honest? And to pay all these Marshals and Supervisors and for these unlawful arrests the people's money is used. One hundred and eighteen thousand nine hundred and eighty-nine dollars and thirtyhundred and eighty-nine dollars and thirty-six cents was thus used in the City of New York alone in connection with the election of 1876. Some of this money went to pay for the rent of rooms, carriage hire and like pur-poses. What think you, fellow-citizens, of being taxed to pay the vagabonds, thieves and penitendary convicts employed by Fed-eral authority to see that your elections are honestly conducted? You may be surprised that such acts as were committed by Daventhat such acts as were committed by Daven-port and his Deputies in New York should have been submitted to by a free people, but you must not forget that, by an order from the War Department the War Department.

THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES. under Gen. McDowell, was placed at the dis-posal of Davenport and the United States Marshals.

the popular vote but by a clear majority of the Electors appointed by the States respectively. Foovercome this majority and continue itself in power, required the commmission of a crime without a parallel in the history of free government. No sooner was it known that the States of South Carolina, Florida and Louisiana bad cast their votes for Mr. Tilden, then a consultary was set on foot by the lead. then a conspiracy was set on foot by the leaders of the Republican party to count them for Mr. Hayes, without every one of which his election was impossible. The machinery for making the false count was all in their own hands and they resolved to use it. With this view, emissaries were sent to those States, the State Canvassing Boards in which were all under their control, and in some instances composed of the most disreputable characcomposed of the most disreputable charac-ters. President Grant issued an order to the Army to protect these Boards in their action. This, together with the rewards of office, was all they needed to induce them to give certi-ficates of election to the Hayes Electors, notwithstanding they had been clearly defeated at the polls in both Florida and Louisiana. After reciting the details of the infamous proceedings in both States, by which the fraud was accomplished, the speaker said: Gen. Garneld, who was one of the Electoral

Commission, in his opinion in the Louisiana case, said:
"The determination of the Board, if not overruled by the Courts of that State, is the final and conclusive decree of the State itself. Neither Congress nor this Commission has any

authority to inquire whether there was fraud

or error in the process by which the deter-mination was reached." In the Fiorida case, where the determina-tion of the State Canvassers was overruled by the Courts of the State, Gen. Garfield held that it made no difference. These decisions of Gen. Garfield were made under an act of Congress which required him, as a member of the ommission, to decide "what persons were daily appointed Electors" from the States of Florida and Louisiana, and he took an oath that he would "impartially examine and consider all questions submitted to the Commis-

I have shown you how he performed that duty. How he kept his oath let him answer to his conscience and his God; but for that fraud practised upon the American people

lent and faise count of votes east by corrupt State Canvassing Boards, sanctioned and confirmed by a subsequent decision of the Elec-toral Commission by a vote of eight to seven, that the managers of the Republican party succeeded in forcing into the Presidential of-fice a man whom the people of the United States had repudiated. Could a greater crime be committed against the rights of the people and representative government? What becomes, my countrymen, of your boasted right to participate in the election of the chief magistrate of the Nation, or any other officer, if effect is not to be given to your votes when east Why go through the farce of an election, when the result is to be determined not by the majority of the votes cast, but by the false count of corrupt Returning Canvassers? I am sure the blood of all honest men who hear me, no matter what their politics, will boil with in-dignation at the thought of being governed by officials placed over them by the false and fraudulent count of corrupt Returning Boards, and yet this is just what the people of the United States have summitted to, so far as relates to the Presidential office, since the 4th of March, 1877. Suppose the election for President this year should turn upon the vote of Indiana, and that a majority of the vote, east in that State should be for the Garvotes cast in that State should be for the Garfield Electors, notwithstanding which, her State Canvassers and Democratic Governor should falsely and fraudulently certify to the election of Hancock Electors, how many Re-publicans in the hand would sanction the outrage and uphold the action of the Electoral Commission, appointed to ascertain who was duly elected in Indiana, which should decide that the certificates of election given by the Democratic Governor and State Canvassing officers, however false and fraudulent, were conclusive upon Congress when it came to count the Electoral votes? And yet this is just what the managers of the Republican perty did in regard to the count of the votes east in Louisiana and Florida four years ago Nay, more, the very persons who participated in or made the false count, have since been

REWARDED WITH IMPORTANT OFFICES. Vells, President of the Louisiana Refurning It | Board, and Anderson, one of its members. were both appointed to offices by Hayes—the former, surveyor, and the latter, Deputy Collector of the port of New Orleans. The other certificates of election to the may swere both subsequently appointed to office by him. Of the "visiting statesmen" sent by Grant to New Orleans and who by their presented to the faise count of the Returning Board of that State, if they did not actually advise it, flayes has appointed Sher-man, secretary of the Treasury; Stoughton, man, Secretary of the Treasury; Stonghton, Minister to Russia; Kasson, Minister to Austria; Noyes, Minister to France, and Wallace, Governor of New Mexico. The total amount of salaries paid annually to the various persons connected with the Returning Boards of Florida and Louisiana are \$231,70. Now, my Paraghilian, Francis do you approve of this?

Republican friends, do you approve of this? If not, how can you vote for Gen. Garfield?

HE WAS ONE OF THE VISITING STATESMEN Seat to New Orleans by Grant to witness the counting of the votes by the Returning Board, and knew, for he could not nelp knowing, of their tisks out the state of th their false count. He subsequently sat as one of the Electoral Commission, and decided that the certificates of election given the Hayes Electors by this Retnining Board, however false and translulent, were conclusive. If you you for him under such eireumstances, do you not indorse and approve the action of the Returning Board in making a fraudu-lent count in the the first in-tance, and the Electoral Commission in atterward deciding all be active partisans of the party that appoints them, and use their authority to arrest and drive their apponents from the polls. What party once in power could not perpetuate itself with such machinery at its disposal? Under the pretense of preventing fraud it has the means of perpetuation the grossest of such fraudulent count to be conclusive. Both parties claim to be for honest elections. I have shown you what the control-ling influence of the Republican party means by honest elections, that is, elections super-vised and controlled by their own partisans has the means of perpetrating the grossest of frauds.

The speaker then proceeded to show the number and character of some of the Deputy Marshals appointed in 1878 to supervise the the cases of Florida and Louisiana, such a one out regard to the number of votes they re-ceive. President Hayes rewarded with office the men who fraudulently counted him in, and the American people are now asked to elevate to the highest office within their gift a man without whose vote in the Electoral Commission the great fraud could not have been consummated.

Is it not an affront to a freeman and an hon-

est man of any party to ask him to do such a The speaker then briefly reviewed the finan cial question and the relations of Labor and Capital, complimented the Democratic party upon the unsullied character of their candidates for President and Vice-President,

and closed with a brief allusion to the issues

involved in the State canvass.

Poisonous Colors upon Christmas Cards.

A TRADE which has of late years sprung up and assumed enormous dimensions, is that of Christmas cards and illuminated almanaes. The results to the purchaser are extremely beautiful, and one can scarcely believe that in such innocent presents a serious danger lurks, arising from the free use of bronzing and emerald-green powders, which the makers of these things are obliged to handle and breathe, whether they like it or not. Factory inspectors are careful to call the attention of the masters to the risks run by their employees, and in genera! the precautions taken are ample, though every now and then some painful fact comes to light which shows either that they have been neglected, or that they were too feeble to stem the mischief. Such a fact was detailed in the last Factory Report, in the case of a girl aged sixteen, who had been employed in a factory for making illuminated tin-plate boxes, her especial occupation being to dust the colors upon them. The poor girl fell ill and died with all the symptoms of color-dust

Judge Doolittle on the De Golyer Job.

In his late speech at Indianapolis Ex-Senator Doolittle thus spoke of the De Gelyer pavement job, and how Garfield became connected with it:

One Chittenden agreed with De Golyer and McClelland, contractors of Chicago, to obtain paving jobs for them from the Boards of Public Works in Eastern cities. He was to get the jobs and they were to fulfill them. But he was to have one-third of all the net profits for the getting of them, they furnishing all the capital, material and work. Chittenden went on to Washington, where Boss Shepard was in the to Washington, where Boss Shepard was in the height of his glory. Through the influence of Garfield, mainly, Chittenden got a contract, awarded by Boss Shepard and his colleagues, to pave 290,000 yards at \$3.50 per yard, when the actual cost of laying it down was only \$1.50, leaving, if the contract should be fulfilled, a net profit of \$400,000.

et profit of \$400,000. Chittenden sued McClelland and Charles E. Jenkins, who had bought out De Golyer, and was substituted in his place, upon his contract to receive his one-third of the profits, claiming, at least, \$100,000. E. A. Storrs, Esq., a very ingenious, able and eloquent lawyer, of Chicago, the same who defended Babcock in St. Louis, was attorney and counse! for Chit-tenden. Myself and my son, J. R. Doolittle, Jr., were retained to defend. We pleaded cially. The substantial defense set up was. that Chittenden obtained the contract by im-proper influences, against public policy, and, therefore, the contract was void. The pleas averred also that the plaintiff well knew that it was void and was obtained by improper in-

The facts set out in the pleas are too voluminous for me to read them, as I could if I had time. But they set out in substance: That the contract was to the amount of 55,000 square yards, upon its face, contingent upon a future appropriation to be made by Congress; that the plaintiff employed James A. Garfield, then being a member of Congress and Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives, agreeations of the House of Representatives, agree-ing to pay him a contingent fee of \$5,000 provided he would obtain the said contract of the Board of Public Works; that by his influ-ence and persuasion he did procure the same, for which he received the sum of \$5,000; that afterward a bill was reported from the that afterward a bill was reported from the committee of which he was chairman, and did pass the House, and passed Congress and bepass the House, and passed Congress and de-came a law, appropriating the sum of \$1.24,-000, out of which the payement under said con-tract could be paid tor by said Board of Pub-lic Works, that the pinintif, and the defend-ants, and the said Garneld, and the members of the said Board of Public Works well knew at the time of his said employment, and at the time of his service in programmer said contract. time of his service in procuring said contract, that the said Garneld from his official position did and would have a potent influence in procuring the passage of such appropriation to carry such contract into effect by said Board of Public Works; and that by means of the premises the said contract was, in fact, obtained by improper influences, against public

policy, and is void.

In order to show that the contract awarded was dependent upon the future appropriation of Congress, the plea further sets out the words of the contract as follows, viz: "An additional amount of fifty thousand square yards will be awarded you so soon as the Board are reimbursed by the General Government on account of expenditures around the public buildings and grounds, or you will be allowed to lay it this season if you can wait until an appropriation is made for the purpose at \$3.50 per square yard."

In order to show that the plaintiff knew that it was the influence of General Gardeld as a member of Congress, and not the arguments of General Gardeld as a lawyer, that was sought and paid for, the pleas further set out a letter from Chittenden to De Golyer and McClellan, dated at the Arlington House, at Washington,

in which he said: influence of General Garfield has been secured by yesterday, last night and to-day's secured by yestermy, hist light and treaty's labors: he carries the purse of the United States—the Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, and is the strongest man in Congress and with our friends. My demand is to-day not less than one hundred thousand more—two hundred thousand in all. Everything is in the best of shape—the connections complete and I have reason to believe satisfications. complete, and I have reason to believe satiscomplete, and I have reason to believe satisfactory. * * I can hardly realize that we have General Garfield with us. It is rare—and very gratifying. All appropriations of the district come from him."

The pleas also alleged that Garfield's compensation was to be \$5.00) if he succeeded in continue the contract.

getting the contract, and was to be nothing if he did not succeed. It alleges that he did suc-

he did not succeed. It alleges that he did succeed and was paid that sum.

To these pleas the plaintiff demurred, and the case was decided by Judge Farwell, overthe case was decided by Judge Farwell, overruling the demurrer and sustaining our pleas,
thus holding upon the facts stated that the
contract was void as against public policy.
There was no appeal. The case ended there.
Upon the argument of the demurrer we submitted a written brief. In that I had occasion
to cite a case decided in the Supreme Court of
the United States by Justice Swayne, not
then reported in the books, but now reported
in the 21st of Wallace, 441, the case of Burke,
administrator of Frist vs. Child, with which
the profession are familiar.

administrator of Frist vs. Child, with which
the profession are familiar.
By the mistake of a reporter to the New
York World, the language of a portion of our
brief was attributed to Judge Swayne. The
mistake was natural and easy, because it followed the case cited, decided by Judge
Swayne, from which a quotation was made.
The mistake was entirely unintentional, and
was due to a confusion in quotation marks.
For a few days it went the ronuds of the press
as the language of Justice Swayne until, in as the language of Justice Swayne until, in justice to him, to Mr. Garfield and to myself. i corrected the mistake in a note to the Chicago Times. Those words of our brief are as

"The agreement with General Garfield, a he was chairman, was a sale of official influ-ence which no veil can cover; against the plainest principles of public policy. No coun-selor at law, while holding high office, has a right to put himself in position of temptation, and, under pretense of making a legal argument, exert his official influence upon public officers dependent upon his future action. Certainly the courts of justice will never lend themselves to enforce contracts obtained by

Fellow-citizens, the question is not who said this, not whether it was said by a Judge of the Supreme Court, or by a lawyer of forty years' practice: but the important question is Are the statements true? and is the

conclusion from them just?

That's the question to which the American people desire, and will have, an answer. What are the statements? First, that Gardald composition was to be wholly composition was to be wholly composition. What are the statements? First, that Gar-field's compensation was to be wholly con-tingent upon his success in getting the De Golyer contract. He was to have five thou-sand dollars if he succeeded in getting the contract, and nothing if he did not get it. Was that statement true? Lay aside from your mind all that Chittenden said. Let me reed you what Gartield himself says about

your mind all that Chittenden said. Let me read you what Garfield himself savs about that, in his own words of explanation: "I understand Mr. Parsons was retained by these parties in Chicago, and they paid him a re-taining fee of five thousand dollars for his taining fee of five thousand dollars for his services, whether he succeeded or not. And they were to pay him ten thousand dollars as a contingent fee, if he succeeded. Mr. Parsons had done the bulk of the work. He came to me saying there were ten thousand dollars depending upon his success, of which he would pay me half in case I made the argument and was successful. I suppose that is a fair explanation." This is Mr. Garfield's statement; and that is conclusive to show that his fee was wholly contingent upon his statement; and that is conclusive to show that his fee was wholly contingent upon his success. Success! aye, success in what? There is, and there can be, but one answersuccess in getting the contract. He did succeed. He got the contract awarded, and, for that, he did get his five thousand dollars. The next statement is that the contract obtained and for obtaining which he got the five thousand dollars, was upon its face contingent upon future appropriation by Congress. The award is in writing. Let it speak for itself. What it says is conclusive. Neither can Mr. Garfield argue words into the contract nor out of it. He can no more argue the words of the condition out of it than he could argue the seal off from a bond. Its words are already stated in the plea. But it is so very important in judging rightly of the matter that I will again read the condition on the face of the contract. I would emphasize and italithe contract. I would emphasize and itali-cise these words. After the contract awards one hundred and fifty thousand yards, abso-

one hundred and fifty thousand yards, absolutely, then follow these words, viz.:

"An additional amount of fifty thousand square yards will be awarded you so soon as the Board are reimbursed by the General Government on account of expenditures around the public buildings and grounds; or you will be allowed to lay it this season if you can wait until an appropriation is made for the purpose, at \$3.50 per square yard."

That this fifty thousand yards (a part of that one hundred thousand more which Chittenden

tion. Beyond any other member, his vote and tion. Beyond any other member, his vote and his influence were potent and controlling in the House, where he was an able and an acknowledged leader of the majority. It was more than a mere figure of speech—it was almost the literal fact—when Chittenden said Garfield carried the purse of the United States; that as Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations he was the strongest man in Congress, and that all the appropriations of the District came from him.

District came from him.

No wonder that in the delirium of his joy at his great success in securing "the influence of General Garfield by yesterday, last night, and to-day's labors," the happy Chittenden exclaims: "My demand is, to-day, not less than one hundred thousand more—two hundred in all."

At first, and before Garfield's influence was secured, Chittenden only expected and modest-ly asked, it would seem, for a contract for only one hundred thousand square yards. But after Garfield's influence by such great labors had been secured, then he not only petitioned but he exultingly demanded one hundred thousand more—two hundred thousand in all; and, more—two hundred thousand in all; and, aided by Garfield, his demand was acceded to by the Board. He got his award for two hundred thousand square yards, fifty thousand of which was made to depend upon the future action of Congress. He could hardly express his joy at his unexpected success. "I can hardly realize we have General Garfield with us; it is rare and very gratifying." We'l might Chittenden say that. But, fellow-citizens, I say it more in sorrow than in anger. zens, I say it more in sorrow than in anger, there are hundreds of thousands of American people, native born and foreign born, who can hardly realize how it was possible that General Garfield should so far forget all the sacred trusts of his position—as the sworn keeper of the keys of the public treasury, as the most responsi-ble of all men in Congress for the appropriable of all men in Congress for the appropria-tion of the public money—to do the thing: to do what beyond all dispute he did do—viz., agree to go before the Board of Public Works and ask Boss Shepard, the "head of the Wash-ington ring." to award a \$750.00 puve-ment job, agreeing to receive \$5.000 if he succeeded, and nothing if he did not succeed in getting it, when by the very terms of the contract itself fifty thousand yards, at \$175.000, was to be awarded "so soon as the Board are reimbursed by the General Government on account of by the General Government on account of expenditures around the public buildings and grounds," or that the contractors should be allowed to lay it that season if they would "wait until an appropriation is made;" and what shocks the public conscience is the fact he was not to be paid for his time and labor; he was to be paid \$5.00 if he got the job, and nothing if he did not get it.

Let me say to you, in all seriousness, there is one view of this case stronger, if possible, then what is stated in this language of the brief, to condemn the conduct of General Garfield in this matter: It showed to everybody that Shepard was the head of the Washington ring. He was engaged in targe schemes of public improvement in Washington requiring the expenditure of many million of dollars by the people of the District and by Congress. The United States, as you are aware, own half of the real property of the District, if not more; and at least half of all those expenditures made and debts contracted by Shepard rested upon the public treasury. All the appropriations of the District came from Gariield's committee; Gariield more than any other controlled them. He had more power over them than General Grant, the President. If he favored them, they passed. If he opposed them, they were defeated. The Board of Public works was created by Congress. It was liable at any time to be abolished in Congress. It was entirely dependent upon Congress for existence, even, and for the means to carry forward all its jobs and schemes. It followed from all this that Boss Shepard was in the power of Garfield. For the success of all his aspirations and ambitions re depended absolutely upon Garfield's favor, therefore maintain that the language of our I therefore maintain that the language of our brief was no: too strong in saying that Gartield, in receiving \$5,000 on the sole condition that he would obtain, and did obtain, from Shepard a pavement job, was a sale of his official power for money, which no veil can cover; just as much a sale of official power as if President Grant had received \$5,001 for getting Boss Shepard to award the contract. If Garfield, as Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, was imposent, then Garfield. Appropriations, was innocent, then Garfield, if he should be elected President, could do the same thing, and with equal propriety, under the shallow pretext of a lawyer's contingent fee, and that I suppose would open a new chap-ter on civil-service reform in the history of this boasting and self-righteous Republican

party. No Dispute About These Facts.

When about to distribute Credit-Mobilier shares where they would "produce most good" to the men who dreaded the action of Congress, Oakes Ames, who knew his colleagues well, selected Garfield, of Ohio, as one who could probably be bribed.

The letter addressed to the American people by the sons of Oakes Ames naturally denies the intent to bribe. But Oakes Ames himself, on Washington's birthday, 1868, wrote to Colonel Me-Comb in regard to the shares distributed to Garfield and others: "We want more friends in this Congress, and if a man will look into the law (and it is difficult to get them to do it unless they have an interest to do so) he cannot help being convinced that we should Member of Congress, to pay him \$5,000 as a contingent fee for procuring a contract which was itself made to depend upon a future appropriation by Congress, which appropriation could only come from a committee of which Ames offer, as a leading argument, to show that there was nothing wrong in the transaction, the fact that no legislation was wanted of Congress at that time. Precisely so. As Oakes Ames' letter to McComb shows beyond the possibility of doubt, it was to prevent legislation that the shares were put where they would "produce most good." On Ames' own construction of the matter, the Congressmen were to be hired to adopt, his views of the meaning of the law by making their interest identical with the interest of the company. That is what was done; and that is what constitutes bribery.

Garfield's share in Credit-Mobilier was not an investment in a promising stock recommended by a friend. Garfield was to pay nothing. He was assured that the stock offered him for nothing would realize \$2,400. He admits this, for in his defense, published not until after the death of Oakes Ames, he attempts to explain the memorandum of \$2,400 in his own handwriting

in this way: "Before I left his room (the interview after the investigation had begun) he said he had some memoranda which seemed to indicate that the money I had of him was on account of stock; and asked me if he did not, some time in 1868, deliver to me a statement to that effect. I told him if he had any account of that sort I was neither aware of it, nor responsible for it; and thereupon I made substan-tially the following statement: 'Mr. Ames, the only memorandum you ever showed me was in 1867-68, when, speaking to me of this pro-posed sale of stock, you figured out on a little piece of paper what you supposed would be realized from an investment of \$1,000; and, as remember, you wrote down these figures

2,490 as the amount you expected to realize.' While saying this to Mr. Ames I wrote the figures as above, on a piece of paper lying on his table, to show him what the only statement was he had ever made to me."

But, in the face of this declaration that he knew in 1868 of the enormous profits to be made out of Credit-Mobilier stock, Mr. Garfield elsewhere claims that he did not know anything of the character of the stock or the nature of the profits to be forthcoming until warned by Judge Black, a year or two later, that the transaction was suspi-



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